/187 cont./

101 The Karajá proper (2). They call themselves: kărăjă̆,

2. As explained above, I mean by Karajá the Indians called Carayahĭ by Ehrenreich. In accordance with the rather sharp J sound, which was often pronounced like dj, I was obliged to change the spelling to Karajá.

[104]

karădjă̆, or krădjă̆. In addition, ĭnă̆ and ĭnaûlă̆ were given as designations for themselves. They are called Karayá by the Brazilians. Among the Šavajé, according to their own statement, they are called šŭšomădŏ or bĕrĕhŏkŭwăndŭ̆, among the
131 Cherénte wărăšŭtŏrŏ̆. They inhabit the middle course of the
[439] Araguaya, at present from 15° 15' to 10° 12' south latitude; their boundaries are thus the mouth of the Rio Vermelho in the south, a place between the north end of Bananal Island and Santa Anna in the north; only occasionally do they undertake trade voyages to Santa Maria and Conceição. In general they
[648] are confined to the banks of the river and its immediate hinterland, and they inhabit both shores equally; today, at any rate, there can no longer be any talk of the habit of avoiding the
484 west bank out of fear of enemies (3). They also extend their
[437]

3. Moraes Jardim, O Rio Araguaya; Ehrenreich, "Südamerikanische Stromfahrten," p. 38.

[113]

fishing and trading expeditions over large stretches on either side. In the east they visit the Šavajé in the interior of Bananal, but avoid going there in small numbers. In the west they navigate
[361] the large tributaries. In the Rio das Mortes, 15 leagues above the mouth, there is supposed to be a small Karajá village; they allegedly do not go farther upstream here. They travel
[225] up the Rio Cristallino for a stretch to fish for turtles. On the
131 Rio Tapirapé they go just below the waterfall; a tree with two bullet-tracks, a fire area, and the remains of utensils mark the boundary here against the Tapirapé Indians.

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36 [168] [622] Tŭmănăkū (said to have died in September 1908), João III, Alfredo, Cyriāki-Cadete (Cyriāki moved to the mouth of the Tapirapé in September 1908), village on the mouth of the Tapirapé, village of the chief João II, José, Fŏtūnă, Ilk, village on the Izabel Morro, Cadete João, village of the deceased Cincinàti. The villages are divided into three groups and an [484] [622] [578] outlying settlement: Walata lives four days' journey (the days' journeys are calculated for the descent in a rowboat) below Crisote, since he is hostile to all the Karajá and therefore is duly feared by them; in the fall of 1908, however, there seems to have been a reconciliation between them. Crisote also lives somewhat isolated, namely, a full day's journey below Tumanakū. From Tumanakū to José there is a string of villages; the average distance between them is a three hours' journey. Only the village on the mouth of the Tapirapé is a trip of four or five hours away from either of the two neighboring villages. Between José and Fotuna there is a distance of one and a half days' journey; then the villages again follow at shorter distances.

[622] A branch of the north horde is the Karajá village of Chief Kŏrŭmărē along the river on Bananal, located a day's march to the east from the village of José. /Pl. 38 appears here./

36 [162] [103] /189/ The south horde lives from the Rio Crixá to the Rio Vermelho in eight fixed settlements: on the Lago Luiz Alves, below and above the Rio Crixá, on the Lago de Café, in São José (ãũwĭ), just above São José (hõlĕnĕkă), just below the Rio de Peixe (sĭsă), on the mouth of the Rio Vermelho above [484] Leopoldina (sĭsămãdõ). These villages, too, are divided into several groups: three villages lie on the Rio Crixá at a distance of about three to four hours' travel apart. The village on the Lago de Café is midway between Rio Crixá and São José and is [103] about four to six hours of travel in distance from the two. Near [484] São José there are two villages: sĭsă is one and a half days' journey away; sĭsămãdõ is two and a half days' journey from [621] sĭsă. sĭsămãdõ is an outlying settlement that has existed for

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P. 62]

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In 1772 José Machado meets Karajá, apparently on Bananal Island. In 1773 Fonseca visits the Karajá north of the southern tip of Bananal, they occupied nine villages with 9,000 inhabitants, three villages of which belonged to the Šavajé.

Transplantings to the south, into aldeamendos, took place from 1782 on. In this year 700 Karajá were transplanted to São José de Mossamedes near Goyaz, where they gradually perished. In 1786 Carretão was founded for Chavánte and Šavajé; most of the Indians succumbed to a measles epidemic, and the survivors were taken to Salinas in 1788, where they likewise gradually perished. A removal of the Indians to the south near these "centers of civilization" did not take place at that time, however, for in 1792 Souza Villa Real, when he traveled downstream from the Rio Vermelho out of the Araguay, did not find any Indians as far as the south end of Bananal. It was only at the beginning of the nineteenth century that the Karajá seem to have come to Salinas occasionally to visit their fellow tribesmen settled there. Thus, Silva Souza reports that between 1809 and /191/ 1812 they came to Salinas in order to submit peaceably, but that they moved back to their villages on the river as a result of a dispute; unfortunately, it is not said where these villages were. Cunha Mattos reports in 1824 that the Karajá at times came to Salinas in order to buy iron implements there (1). These conditions

1. Rev. trim. 37, p. 363.

lasted for many decades, for Castelnau reports in 1844 that the Karajá occasionally came from the Araguaya to Salinas, in part to visit their fellow tribesmen, in part to plunder the plantations of the Brazilians (2). He himself did not come across any villages

2. Vol. 1, pp. 372, 377, 383.

from the mouth of the Rio Crixá to the southern end of Bananal, but reports that the fixed settlements start only after the division, and, to be sure, on the western arm, and that up to the Rio das

/203 cont./

361 The houses in general are oriented in such a way that one long side faces northwest, north, or northeast, thus providing shade.

[592] [340] Each house is occupied by only one family; to each house there generally belongs a mat wall, a supply stand, and one or two hearth areas.

[346] The mask hut lies away from the village, at a distance of about 200 meters.

624 The villages of the Karajá are small; many consisted of only one or two houses, the largest of eight huts (1). Ehrenreich be-

1. Rufino has already reported that the villages of the Karajá have only eight to ten huts on the average. Rev. trim. 10, p. 208.

lieves that this dispersion must be traced back to a lack of means [511] of subsistence. This is scarcely to be assumed, since there is sufficient food, especially fish. [578] [571] In my opinion, it is conditioned first by the many disputes that seem to prevail among the families of the Karajá and lead to the departure of some of them, and then by the prevalence of personal attitudes concerning the feeling of sociability; many families live permanently isolated in one place because they happen to like it there.

It is noteworthy that the villages decrease in size from north [166] to south. This may be explained by the direction of migration of the Karajá: the bulk of them still live in the north; toward the south, the first to be sent are advance groups, which, of course, are small in number.

361 On journeys the Karajá pitch camps of mat roofs or walls, •484 in the shade and shelter of which they live and sleep. The walls are, of course, oriented in such a way that they provide as much shade as possible and as long as possible; hence they usually stand approximately from west to east, and likewise arranged in rows (Pl. 13, Ill. 1). If a village is moved, the Indians live under mat walls until the houses are erected (Pl. 41, Ill. 2).

221 The villages do not remain permanently in one place. During 361 the dry season, the Indians live on the sandbanks of the river, which,

/230 cont./

*301 283 are called kōdēsi, in both cases their hangings hang down only on the outer side of the arm. The lower-arm bands are worn behind the arm cuffs (dēsi). In this ornament, too, a plaiting of the upper part sometimes occurs (Ill. 74 a, b). For such calf bands, which are worn underneath the real calf bands, /231/ two names were mentioned: ūljāu and wŏḍāidi. In this case the fringe hangs all around the leg (Ill. 75).

*301 [237] b) All other ornaments are worn only by the unmarried; married persons have no feather ornaments, whereas young people are abundantly provided with them, though they seldom wear them. The ornaments most often worn are the feather caps (boys), bead necklaces, and finger rings, as well as cotton belts with feather hangings. All other ornaments seem to be worn only occasionally for dances, festivities, etc. [415] In between times they are carefully stored in the elegant, long, covered baskets. The female youth wear only necklaces and finger rings; the girls also wear feather caps and feather arm-bands. One girl nine to eleven years old wore the following ornaments: feather cap, red ear-rosettes, black neck-tassels with snail shells, feather arm-bands behind the red cuffs, black belt with gray bast-apron over it, a long black string-skirt to go with it, and, finally, calf bands (Pl. 18).

[484] [197] On journeys my Indians had no ornaments; some of them wore Brazilian clothing, as well as lip plugs and native finger-rings. Almost all of the single ones tied a piece of fish line around their ankles. [184] It was remarkable that in the villages of the north horde located north of the Tapirapé mouth there was only a little ornamentation and feather ornaments were almost entirely lacking.

[184] The village on the Tapirapé mouth occupies a special position. All strikingly divergent forms, which will be specially discussed in the following, come from this village. I cannot decide whether this is a coincidence or whether there is Tapirapé influence here.

[237] [114] Of the feather head-ornaments mentioned by Ehrenreich, I did not see the following

/275 cont./

8. Means of Transportation and Communication.

484 [36] The Indians do not like to travel by land. The north-south extension of their dwelling area along the river essentially requires boat trips from village to village. Land marches are undertaken only to visit the plantings or foreign tribes. For both purposes paths exist.

487 The paths are approximately 20-25 centimeters wide and are produced by the treading down or pulling up of clumps of grass; they do not go straight, but make slight meanderings. The 481 Indians walk on them single file, one behind the other. Their feet are not, as is often said, placed exactly one in front of the other, but rather, as I was constantly able to observe on marches lasting for days, the Indians turn their toes outward, exactly as we do; at most they sometimes turned their feet slightly inward when a taller clump of grass along the side required it. It is also very pleasant to walk barefoot on these paths; they are kept very clean and smooth.

485 For short marches, such as to the plantings, there are no special arrangements; it is different in the case of paths that lead cross-country for days and are more frequently traveled. They are provided with shelter-huts at intervals of a day's march, cooking places, ferry boats and water-transport vessels on either side of the waters. I traveled such a traffic route when I marched across Bananal Island in order to reach the Šavajé.

482 As a means of transport by land the back-baskets (bĕhūlĕ) are chiefly used; they are carried on shoulder-band and forehead-band and /276/ quite enormous loads may be transported in them (Pl. 57, Ills. 1 and 2). All other heavy loads are also carried on the carrying-band of brown bast (ōūnă), which is placed around the forehead or the chest; for example, the large carrying baskets (wālīlĭ, Pl. 57, Ill. 3). For my knapsacks, the Indians likewise made themselves forehead-bands. Large sleeping mats are rolled up and transported crosswise upon the head.

/276 cont./

482 415 Smaller loads are carried in containers on a hand-strap, for example, in carrying sacks (mãsĭ; Pl. 57, Ills. 5 and 6), carrying bags (lõlŭ; Pl. 57, Ill. 4), two-piece baskets (wrãbãhĭ; Pl. 57, Ills. 16 and 17), small pouches (Pl. 55, Ill. 6 a-c), or in small gourd vessels, the perforated edges of which hold the carrying-bands or which are either plaited round with bast (dălīlĭkŭ) or are set into a net of black cotton plaiting (wălăbŭkŭ; Pl. 56, Ill. 4 a-c).

854 Children ride on the hip and are held there with the hand (Pl. 12, Ill. 4; Pl. 37, Ill. 2; Pl. 42, Ills. 2, 3).

50 [484] Their principal journeys take place by water in a boat. The boat (ãwŏ), of which there is one or more in each family, consists of a dugout six to ten meters long and 40-60 meters wide. The two ends are greatly elongated and slope up from below, so that getting on and off the sandbanks is easily accomplished (Pl. 56, Ill. 5). The boats have no seats; one squats or sits on the narrow bottom. Sometimes cross-rods are put in, upon which the cargo is placed to protect it from the bilge water. In one place [397] in the boat there is often a layer of loam upon which lies the smoldering wood for transporting fire.

The boats are propelled with oars and poles; both are used in journeys upstream and downstream, the poles, of course, only in shallow water. The oars (nālĭhĭ) are manipulated freely as paddles, and, indeed, the rowers kneel or sit in the boat, their [502] faces in the direction of travel. If the boat is propelled by one man, he sits at the rear end and steers at the same time; with a crew of two men, one sits at the front end and one at the rear; several rowers distribute themselves over the entire boat. In the latter case, the rowing rhythm is entirely spontaneous, since the [533] ones in the rear must adjust to the man in front. The song which young people like to take up while rowing has nothing to do with the rhythmical rowing. There are various ways of working the oars: short strokes with pauses after each stroke; long, evenly spaced strokes; slow strokes with a lifting of the blade at the end, so that the water falls off the blade in a broad surge, are regarded [147] as a particularly elegant manner of rowing. The Indians have great endurance; they row for many hours without interruption.

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501 [508] The boat is pushed over shallow places; to get over exposed sandbanks extending crosswise, wooden rollers are laid down on which the boat is rolled across (Ill. 9).

There are no anchors for securing the boat; stones with plaiting around them serve only as anchors for the bottom tackle for turtles. The boats are easily pulled up on the bank, and the boat pole is stuck into the sand through the loop; this is the whole mooring.

[415] Half-gourds are used to scoop out the water that enters.

[532] I saw decorated boats only in Village No. 20. Here, on the inner wall of a boat, there were light-colored human figures; [484] another boat had 36 notches on the edge, which were said to be [211] the number of nights required for a journey to the Sambioá.

484 Such trips lasting for weeks are usually undertaken in a large company; often the entire village sets out in a great number of boats packed high. By themselves the Indians only make [262] journeys of one or two days. By way of /278/ provisions they take only a little with them: manioc, maize, and the cooking pot; the fish are caught on the way twice a day. Rower and helmsman change places daily on longer journeys, especially if only two men are traveling in the boat.

502 132 Shipwrecks sometimes occur, especially while crossing the river in a storm. Such accidents, in which Indians lost their lives and of which several examples were recounted to me, are easily explainable in view of the high waves which storms create on the river and the narrow, low boats of the Indians. In fact, I myself with my boats (dugouts with one or two side planks set on them) was often forced to seek refuge from wind and waves for hours on high banks or on sandbanks.

The Indians endure bad weather on the journey rather simply. They quickly build themselves small sheltering walls out of poles and prepared palm leaves, which they always carry with them on longer journeys, or they pull the boat on land, turn it upside down, and lie down under it wrapped in their coverings beside a fire which they light in the center. They spend the worst nights of storm and rain in this manner.

/278 cont./

9. Trade, Money, Measures.

484 The Karajá undertake their boat trips and land journeys almost entirely for the sake of fishing and for supplies of raw materials. Trade among themselves is carried on only during occasional visits. For example, Pedro took huge quantities of urucú kernels along to his home (Village 2) from Village 19, as the reason he said that there was no urucú above the Rio Tapirapé; he probably meant none of the one particular, very highly appreciated kind providing red coloring. In the villages north of the Tapirapé mouth there was also urucú coloring matter pressed into rolls or into the form of flat cakes, which were sold in such packings. The south horde seems to be dependent on the north horde in various other respects: they buy or bought bow wood, red coloring for painting the pots, stones for stone axes, net coverings, stone lip-plugs, and tamed araras from the north horde, who either produce these themselves or acquire them from the Tapirapé or Šavajê.

From the Šavajê, who are regarded as very rich, they buy tobacco seedlings, manioc roots, arrows, net coverings, etc.

They carry on trade with the Brazilians, in part through the Brazilian boats passing by, to whom they offer wax in large balls for calking their boats, as well as manioc, chickens, and fish, in exchange for tobacco, salt, farina, beads, and knives, and in part on great trading expeditions which they themselves undertake in August and September to Santa Maria and sometimes even to Conceição. For this purpose they collect beforehand on their fishing expeditions in the Rio Tapirapé and the many lakes of the river great quantities of turtles, turtle eggs, dried fish, etc., in order to exchange these in the large Brazilian towns for products of European civilization, /279/ especially iron tools, material for blankets for the cold nights, ornamental beads, tobacco, and salt.

There are no special standards of value in trade; simple barter still takes place. Among themselves, however, they have fixed prices: a boat costs one ax or two ca. ybara teeth, etc.